

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

XCIX. Vol. IV.—No. 20.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH, 1843.

[PRICE 4d.

LETTER FROM THE HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE following letter from Mr. Adams was read on the occasion of the recent celebration of West India emancipation in this city:—

Quincy, 4th July, 1843.

ASA WALKER, C. A. STACKPOLE, and F. M. SABINE, Esqs.,
Com. of Corr. of a Meeting of the citizens of Bangor and its vicinity,
holden on the 27th of May, 1843.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,—I have received your letter of the 9th ult., and, perhaps, in answering it, my safest and most prudent course would be to express my regret that the precarious state of my health, and particularly of my voice, would not warrant me in undertaking an engagement to deliver a public address upon any subject whatever, on the 1st day of next August. This answer I have been most reluctantly constrained to give to several other kind invitations to address the people on various subjects in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn. But the occasion of which you propose to celebrate the anniversary, is viewed in lights so entirely different and opposite to each other, that it cannot be denied to have assumed both a religious and political aspect; and this must be my apology, while returning my thanks for your friendly invitation, for frankly unfolding to you other reasons which would have dictated to me the same conclusion, even if the state of my health admitted of my compliance with it.

The extinction of SLAVERY from the face of the earth is a problem, moral, political, religious, which at this moment rocks the foundations of human society throughout the regions of civilized man. It is, indeed, nothing more nor less than the consummation of the Christian religion. It is only as *immortal* beings that all mankind can in any sense be said to be born equal; and when the Declaration of Independence affirms, as a self-evident truth, that all *men* are born equal, it is precisely the same as if the affirmation had been that all *men* are born with immortal souls. For take away from man his soul, the immortal spirit that is within him, and he would be a mere tameable beast of the field, and, like others of his kind, would become the property of his tamer. Hence it is, too, that by the law of nature and of God man can never be made the property of man. And herein consists the fallacy with which the holders of slaves often delude themselves, by assuming that the test of property is human law. The soul of one man cannot by human law be made the property of another. The owner of a slave is the owner of a living corpse; but he is not the owner of a man.

The natural equality of mankind, affirmed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be *held by them* as self-evident truths, was not so held by their enemies. It was not so held by the king and Parliament of Great Britain. They held the reverse. They held that sovereign power was unlimited—that the tie of allegiance bound the subject to implicit obedience, and that the natural equality of mankind was a fable. This was the question of the American revolutionary war. In the progress of that war, France, Spain, and the United Netherlands became involved in it. The governments of France and Spain, absolute monarchies, had no sympathies with the American cause—the rights of human nature. Vergennes had plotted with Gustavus of Sweden the revolution in Sweden from liberty to despotism. Turgot, very shortly before the surrender of Burgoyne, but after our Declaration of Independence, had formally advised Louis the 16th, that it was for the *interest* of France and Spain, that the insurrection in the Anglo-American colonies should be *suppressed*. France and Spain had been *warned* of the remote consequences to them, as *owners of colonies*, of the success of the Anglo-Americans. But neither Turgot nor Vergennes, nor any one European or American statesman of that age, foresaw or imagined what would be the consequence, by no means remote, upon their own governments at home, of the dismemberment of the British empire and the triumphant establishment, by a seven years' war on the continent of North America, of an Anglo-Saxon confederate nation, on the foundation of the natural equality of mankind, and the inalienable rights of man.

After Louis 16th lost his crown, he remembered and bitterly repented the part he had taken on the side of the natural equality of mankind, and the rights of human nature in the American revolutionary war. For the revolution in France, by which he lost his throne and his life, was another fruit of the same self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, and have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, *without infringing* upon the same right of all other men.

Until the day of the Declaration of Independence, the condition of slavery was recognized as lawful in *all* the English colonies. The constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, established three years after the Declaration of Independence, adopted its self-evident truths, and the judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, under that Constitution, judicially decided that slavery within the Commonwealth was thereby *ipso facto* abolished. Since that day, there has not been a slave within the State.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a slaveholder. Its self-evident truths taught him that slaveholding was an outrage upon the natural rights of mankind, at least as great as parliamentary taxation without representation. He held that opinion to his dying day. He introduced it into his draft of the Declaration of Independence itself, imputing the existence of slavery in Virginia to George the Third, as one of the crimes which proved him to be a tyrant unfit to rule over a free people.

Among the signers of the Declaration of Independence there were at least twenty slaveholders—probably thirty. They could not stomach the application of the self-evident truth to themselves, and they lopped it off as an unsightly excrescence upon the tree of liberty. But his grandson and executor has carefully preserved it in the double form of print and fac simile, in the edition which he has published of his writings, and there it stands, an unanswerable testimonial to posterity, that on the roll of American abolitionists, first and foremost after the name of George Washington, is that of *Thomas Jefferson*.

The result of the North American revolutionary war had prepared the minds of the people of the British Islands to contemplate with calm composure the new principle engrafted upon the association of the civilized race of man, the self-evident truth—the natural equality of mankind and the rights of man. They had waged against it a cruel and disastrous war of seven years. Hundreds of thousands of valiant Britons had fallen victims, hundreds of millions of British treasure had been squandered to sustain the principle of illimitable sovereignty against the principle of illimitable human rights. The prize of the conflict was the liberty of the immortal soul of man. The contest was over between Britain and her children. The Lord of Hosts had decided the wager of battle. Human liberty was triumphant, and a new confederation entered upon the field of human affairs, with the Urim and Thummim of the law of Sinai, "Right and Light," inscribed upon her banners; and upon the diadem around her brow, "Holiness to the Lord."

But while this contest had been in progress, both of intellectual conflict, and of mortal combat, the same question of human right against lawless power had been started in the land of both the combatant parties to this controversy. The question of the American revolution had been of political government in the relations of sovereign and subject. Anthony Benezet, a native of France, settled in Pennsylvania, a member of the Society of Friends, and Granville Sharp, an English philanthropist at London, were at the same time blowing the bugle-horn of human liberty, and the natural equality of mankind, against the institution of slavery, practised from time immemorial by all nations, ancient and modern.—There were two modes of slavery which had crept in upon the relations of mankind to one another; first as the results of war, by the right of conquest; and secondly, by the voluntary servitude of the feudal system. They had both become odious by the silent progress of Christianity. The practice of enslaving enemies taken in war had already ceased between Christian nations. The traffic in slaves had been denounced by the popular writers both of France and England—by Locke, Addison and Sterne, as well as by Raynal, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. It was every where odious but every where practised, till just after the close of the American revolutionary war arose the cry for the abolition of the African slave-trade. The first assault of the reformers was upon the trade, which was prosecuted with such atrocious cruelty that the mere narrative of its ordinary details excited disgust and horror.

'Sweet are the uses of adversity,' saith Shakspeare, and 'In the day of adversity consider,' saith yet higher authority.

In the summer of 1783, when the results of the revolutionary war presented themselves to the people of the British islands, in the darkest form of adversity, they had, and they improved the opportunity, considering the principle for which, and the principles against which, they had so obstinately and fiercely contended. Their warfare had been against the self-evident truth of human rights. Thomas Clarkson, a member of the Society of Friends,* with two or three other Englishmen, associated themselves together with the purpose of arraying the *power* of the British empire, for the total abolition of slavery throughout the earth; and the commission with which they went forth to regenerate the race of man, by leading captivity captive, was the same identical self-evident truth against which Britain had just closed her relentless war, in humiliation and defeat. She was now to make the identical principle the inscription upon her banners—to war against *slavery* for the natural rights of mankind, and to proclaim the jubilee shout of *liberty* throughout the land—throughout the globe!

Of that undertaking, Clarkson himself has written the history. He has shown in what small beginnings it commenced, by what slow and almost imperceptible progress it advanced; by what interests, prejudices, and passions it was perpetually obstructed. How many years it was before it could obtain admission to the halls of legislation in the British House of Commons. How, in the meantime, it had been silently making its way to the hearts of the British people. How many struggles of argument and of eloquence it had to encounter before it could lay prostrate all opposition at its feet; and how this emanation of the Christian faith, after waiting eighteen hundred years for its development, came down at last like a mighty flood, and is even now, under the red cross of St. George, overflowing from the white cliffs of Albion, and sweeping the slave-trade and slavery from the face of the terraqueous globe.

People of that renowned island! children of the land of our forefathers, proceed, proceed in this glorious career, till the whole earth shall be redeemed from the greatest curse that ever has afflicted the human race,—proceed until millions upon millions of your brethren of the human race are restored to the rights with which they were endowed by your and their Creator, but of which they have been robbed by ruffians of their own race, shall send their choral shouts of redemption to the skies in blessings upon your names. Oh! with what pungent mortification and shame must I confess, that in the transcendent glories of that day our

* This is a mistake. Clarkson, we believe, never joined the Quakers.

names will not be associated with yours! May heaven in mercy grant that we may be spared the deeper damnation of seeing our names recorded, not among the liberators, but with the oppressors of mankind.

Fellow-citizens! the first impulse of the regeneration of human liberty came from us—the 4th of July is our anniversary day. Then was the principle proclaimed to the world as that which was to be the vital spark of our existence as a community among the nations of the earth. This is the brightness of our glory, and of this we cannot be bereaved. But how can we presume to share in the festivities, and unite in the songs of triumph, of the first of August? Have we emancipated our slaves? Have we mulcted ourselves in a hundred millions of dollars to persuade and prevail upon the man-stealer to relinquish his grasp upon his prey? Have we encompassed sea and land, and sounded the clarion of freedom to the four ends of heaven, to break the chain of slavery in the four quarters of the earth? Has the unction of our eloquence moved the bowels of compassion of the holy pontiff of the Roman Catholic church to give his commands to his Christian flock against slavery and the slave-trade? Have we softened the heart of the fiery Mussulman of Tunis, the follower of the war-denouncing prophet of Mecca, to proclaim liberty throughout his land? Are we carrying into Hindostan the inexpressible blessings of emancipation? Are we bursting open the everlasting gates, and overleaping the walls of China, to introduce into that benighted empire, in one concentrated sunbeam, the light of civil and Christian liberty? O no! my countrymen. No, nothing of all this! Instead of all this, are we not suffering our own hands to be manacled, and our own feet to be fettered, with the chains of slavery? It is not enough to be told that, by a fraudulent perversion of language in the constitution of the United States, we have falsified the constitution itself, by admitting into both the legislative and executive departments of the Government an overwhelming representation of one species of property to the exclusion of all others, and that—the odious property in slaves.

Is it not enough, that by this exclusive privilege of property representation confined to one section of the country, an irresistible ascendancy in the action of the general government has been secured; not, indeed, to that section, but to an oligarchy of slaveholders in that section—to the cruel oppression of the poor in that same section itself? Is it not enough that, by the operation of this radical iniquity in the organization of the government, an immense disproportion of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, civil, military, naval, executive, and judicial, are held by slaveholders? Have we not seen the sacred right of petition totally suppressed for the people of the free states during a succession of years, and is it not yet inexorably suppressed? Have we not seen, for the last twenty years, the constitution, and solemn treaties with foreign nations, trampled on by cruel oppression and lawless imprisonment of coloured mariners in the southern states, in cold-blooded defiance of a solemn adjudication by a southern judge in the Circuit Court of the Union? And is not this enough? Have not the people of the free states been required to renounce for their citizens the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, and to coerce that base surrender of the only practical security to all personal rights? Have not the slave-breeders, by state legislation, subjected to fine and imprisonment the citizens of the free states for merely coming within their jurisdiction? Have we not, tamely submitted, for years, to the daily violation of the freedom of the post-office and of the press, by a committee of seal-breakers? and have we not seen a sworn postmaster-general formally avow, that though he could not license this cut-purse protection of the peculiar institution, the perpetrators of this highway robbery must justify themselves by the plea of necessity? And has the pillory or the penitentiary been the reward of that postmaster-general? Have we not seen printing-presses destroyed—halls erected for the promotion of human freedom levelled with the dust, and consumed by fire, and wanton unprovoked murder perpetrated with impunity by slavemongers? Have we not seen human beings, made in the likeness of God, and endowed with immortal souls, burnt at the stake, not for their offences, but for their colour? Are not the journals of our senate disgraced by resolutions, calling for war to indemnify the slave-pirates of the *Enterprise* and the *Creole*, for the self-emancipation of their slaves, and to inflict vengeance, by a death of torture, upon the heroic self-deliverance of Madison Washington? Have we not been fifteen years plotting rebellion against our neighbour republic of Mexico, for abolishing slavery throughout all her provinces? Have we not aided and abetted one of her provinces in insurrection against her for that cause? And have we not invaded openly and sword in hand another of her provinces, and all to effect her dismemberment, and to add ten more slave states to our confederacy? Has the cry of war for the conquest of Mexico, for the expansion of re-instituted slavery, for the robbery of priests, and the plunder of religious establishments, yet subsided? Have the pettifoggings, bait-splitting, non-sensical, and yet inflammatory bickerings about the right of search, pandering to the thirst for revenge in France, panting for war to prostrate the disputed title of her being,—has the sound of this war-trumpet yet faded away upon our ears? Has the supreme and unparalleled absurdity of stipulating by treaty to keep a squadron of eighty guns, for five years, without intermission, upon the coast of Africa, to suppress the African slave-trade; and at the same time denying, at the point of the bayonet, the right of that squadron to board and examine any slaver, all but sinking under a cargo of victims, if she but hoist a foreign flag,—has this diplomatic bone been yet picked clean? Or is our indirect participation in the African slave-trade to be protected, at whatever expense of blood and treasure? Is the supreme executive chief of this commonwealth yet to speak, not for himself, but for the whole people, and pledge them to shoulder their muskets, and indorse their knapsacks, against the fanatical, non-resistant abolitionists, whenever the overseers may please to raise the bloody flag with the swindling watchword of the Union? Oh! my friends, I have not the heart to join in the festivity on the first of August, the British anniversary of disenthralled humanity, while all this, and infinitely more than I could tell—but that I would spare the blushes of my country—weighs down my spirits with the uncertainty, sinking into the grave as I am, whether she is doomed to be numbered among the first liberators, or the last oppressors, of the race of immortal man.

Let the long-trodden-down African, restored by the cheering voice and

Christian hand of Britain, to his primitive right and condition of manhood, clap his hands and shout for joy on the anniversary of the first of August. Let the lordly Briton strip off much of his pride on other days of the year, and reserve it all for the pride of conscious beneficence on that day. What lover of classical learning can read the account in Livy or in Plutarch, of the restoration to freedom of the Grecian cities by the Roman Consul Flaminius, without feeling his bosom heave, and his blood flow cheerily in his veins? The heart leaps with sympathy when we read that, on the first proclamation by the herald, the immense assembled multitude, in the tumult of astonishment and joy, could scarcely believe their own ears,—that they called back the herald, and made him repeat the proclamation; and then, Tum ab certo jam gaudis tantas cum clamore plausus est ortus toties que repetitus, ut facile appareret nihil omnium bonorum multitudine gratius quam libertatem esse. "Then rang the welkin with long and redoubled shouts of exultation, clearly proving that of all the enjoyments accessible to the hearts of men, nothing is so delightful to them as liberty." Upwards of two thousand years have revolved since that day, and the first of August is to the Briton of this age what the day of the proclamation of Flaminius was to the ancient Roman. Yes, let them celebrate the first of August as the day to them of deliverance and of glory, and leave to us the pleasant employment of commenting upon their motives, of devising means to shelter the African slave from their search, and of squandering millions to support, on a pestilential coast, a squadron of the stripes and stars, with instructions sooner to settle their ships than to molest the pirate slaver who shall make his flag-staff the herald of a lie.

Apologising to you, gentlemen, for the length of this letter, I will close it with an ejaculation to Heaven, that you may live to substitute for the first of August the day when slavery shall be proclaimed a word without a meaning in all the languages of the earth, and when the power of emancipation shall be extinguished in universal freedom. To share in the jubilant chorus of that day, if my voice could burst from the cerements of the tomb, it should be to shout, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth! Let the earth rejoice and be glad!"

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LATE AND PASSING REVOLUTION IN HAYTI.

THE following account of the recent revolution in the political state of Hayti will be read with much interest. Our excellent friend John Candler foresaw its approach, as the readers of his interesting "Notices of Hayti" will remember. Its comparatively peaceful character reflects much credit on the often calumniated people of that land:—

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—If the following brief sketch of the revolution in Hayti, compiled from papers which have just reached me from that country, be likely to interest the readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, it is at thy service for insertion.

I remain, thy sincere friend,

(Signed)

JOHN CANDLER.

York, 1st of 9th mo., 1843.

It has been long known in Europe that, owing to certain acts of despotic power on the part of General Bowyer, the late President of Hayti, a feeling of dissatisfaction with his government had become very prevalent throughout the republic. The towns of Cayes, and Jeremie and Jacmel, situate in the south-west of the island, and distant more than a hundred miles from the capital, had been distinguished throughout the revolutionary and civil war for a spirit of fierceness and insubordination, which the actors who lived in these towns, and who took part in favour of public liberty, denominated patriotism. At Cayes, in particular, there always resided a number of well-educated individuals, most of them mulattoes, who were ardent in the cause of their country's freedom. In this town the acts of the late Government were likely to be criticised with unsparing severity, and its arbitrary sway resisted. As General Bowyer increased his attacks on constitutional liberty, instead of growing milder by the check he received, the citizens of Cayes, in self-defence, and for the sake of their fellow-countrymen, formed themselves into a political union, and strove secretly to thwart and oppose his government. Towards the end of last year (1842) they considered themselves strong enough to bid defiance to the ruling powers, and proceeded to publish a manifesto of the wrongs of the nation. These wrongs, as stated by themselves, may be thus enumerated:—

1st. The neglect under which agriculture was suffering, owing to the oppressive provisions of the rural code. 2nd. The almost total neglect by the Government of elementary education. 3rd. The imposition of taxes bearing with unequal weight on the labouring classes. 4th. The annihilation of the liberty of the press, the overthrow of the trial by jury, and corrupt judges. 5th. The deteriorated state of the currency. 6th. The election of senators by the President's fiat. 7th. The expulsion of deputies from the House of Representatives at the point of the bayonet, and their banishment from Hayti. On all these, and sundry other complaints and grievances, the manifesto enlarges with angry eloquence, and calls on the Haytiens as one man to resist the power of the tyrant, and to overthrow his domination.

The President is charged with the crime of high treason against the republic, a new provincial Government is organized, and General Herard is declared the "Executive Chief." A new civil war, seemed now inevitable; the patriots had touched a chord which vibrated in almost every heart of the people; they had raised the standard, they had passed the rubicon, and were now resolved that nothing but obstacles evidently insurmountable should stop their onward march to freedom.

The President became alarmed; he put on a show of determination and vigour, but acted a hurried part; he felt that with all the soldiers of Port-au-Prince at his back, and his body-guards around him, his position was insecure. He sent for General Inguae, his Secretary of State, and despatched him to Petite Goave, a town on the borders of the disturbed district, with orders to facilitate the expedition of the regular troops,

which he was about to send through that town to put down the insurrection. "I entered on my office," says General Inginac, "on the 4th of February, and exerted myself to the utmost; but soon found that all my efforts would be useless. I returned to the capital, but before I reached its gates I was met by an order to place myself at the head of a column to arrest the progress of the insurrection, by opposing force to force. I might, in advancing, have caused the slaughter of my fellow-citizens, but I found that even this alternative would have left me without success. After proceeding some way on my march, I thought it my duty to fall back upon Gressier, to avoid a sanguinary conflict." Other commanders in the interest of Bowyer were, however, not so wise; several skirmishes took place between them and the insurgents, and some lives were lost. Three slight battles were fought. "The first of them," says the *Proces-Verbal*, "took place near Pestel on the 21st February. We had to deplore the loss of twenty men on both sides. The second was fought about a league from Jeremie on the 25th of the same month, and was the most disastrous; the result of the engagement, which lasted two hours and a half, were twenty men killed on our side, and a hundred and upwards of the other army, and about an equal number wounded. The last battle was fought at the gates of Leogane, on the 12th of March. The enemy, in losing fifty of their own men, did us no harm. The loss of life, trifling as it appears, compared with the dreadful blood-shedding to which the Haytiens had been accustomed in former days, is deeply to be lamented; but the clemency of the victorious party, and the moderation they evinced, is much to their honour, and serve clearly to show that Hayti has an improved and improving people, on whom the lessons of the past have not been thrown away. As the insurgents, now patriots, advanced in their career, the troops sent to oppose them gave way; regiment after regiment joined their standard; the revolution became successful. The news of their triumph having reached Port-au-Prince, the capital, Bowyer, left alone and defenceless, took refuge in an English vessel which lay in the harbour, and fled to Jamaica. General Herard, his opponent, took possession of the city. "On this day," says the *Proces-Verbal*, "the 4th of April, 1843, the year 40 of the independence of Hayti, and the first of its regeneration, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Executive Chief chosen by the will of the sovereign people, Charles Herard the elder, repaired to the Government house to install the members of the Provisional Government." The Chief, after pronouncing a discourse, in which he recalls to the recollection of his hearers the leading events of Bowyer's administration and misgovernment, and relates the history of the last few months, passed in opposition to his rule, addresses four of his fellow-citizens, and calls them to his councils. "I never consider myself," says the speaker, "as any other than a servant of the people, and the instrument of its will. I have but one thought, but one object, the overthrow of tyranny and the regeneration of my country. The destructive part is accomplished; the regenerative part is now to be commenced. Citizens: Imbert, Voltaire, Gaerrier, and Segrétier, in the name of the sovereign people, and in virtue of the power conferred upon me by the act of the 21st of November, 1842, I proclaim you members of the Provisional Government." The Chief having thus surrendered his power into the hands of the people, the latter re-elected him unanimously to a seat at the board of Government, and constituted him the colleague of those whom he had just called to office. A salute of a hundred and one guns was fired in honour of the new appointments; a *Te Deum* was chaunted with great pomp, and the multitudes who had assembled to witness the ceremony dispersed. Let us now review the acts, orders, and decrees that have emanated from the new Government since its installation, and see how far the people of Hayti are qualified for the task on which they have entered, of regenerating the commonwealth.

1st. The ex-President Bowyer is declared guilty of high treason, and all his real and personal estate forfeited to the republic.

2nd. All the estate, real and personal, of parties accused, (their names are mentioned, including those of General Inginac, Senator Ardouin, and two or three public functionaries,) are sequestered provisionally, subject to the decision of a jury. The farms and sugar-works to be let by action for a given term, and the money to be paid to the Minister of Finance, out of which, and out of the proceeds of sales, if hereafter such sales should be ordered by a jury, the claim of creditors and those parties are to be satisfied. Sums of money to be immediately allowed for the support of the wives of the accused, and the bringing up of their families.

3rd. Several new ports are opened to foreign commerce; and all restrictions of commerce hitherto existing between Hayti and the British West India islands are removed, and certain duties on the importation of foreign goods are temporarily reduced.

4th. The popular committees or clubs of the different communes are directed to send in lists of persons whom they consider to be best qualified to serve the Republic in the various offices of judge, justice of the peace, curate, vicar, churchwarden, schoolmaster, and prison keeper, with a view to the selection by the new Government of all public functionaries in different departments of the state.

5th. The national guard, or militia, under officers of their own choice, to come into the field for drill, twice every week, without receiving pay, till further orders are issued.

6th. The executive chief is directed forthwith to make a military law of the island, to bring all the inhabitants to acknowledge the provisional government.

7th. The communes are directed to meet in primary assemblies to choose an electoral body of 620 members, which 620 members, when they have verified their powers, are to elect one-fifth of their number to constitute a national assembly, to which shall be intrusted the power of forming a new constitution for Hayti. Every industrious man, of the age of twenty-one years, to be entitled to vote in the primary assemblies.

The members of the national assembly are appointed by a special decree to meet at Port-au-Prince, 15th September, to exercise all the high functions of their delegated office. Thus far the Provisional Government has proceeded on its course with great moderation; life is held sacred, property is respected, the liberty of the subject is preserved inviolate! The great questions of reform, such as those which relate to the education of the people, the reduction or annihilation of the standing army, the regulation of import and export duties, and the jurisprudence of the

country are left to be determined and acted upon by the Executive Government that may be chosen by the national assembly. It is delightful, however, to observe that the individuals now in power hold sound and enlightened opinions on some of these important topics, and especially on the momentous one of national education. Elementary instruction, they tell us, "The vehicle of morality and happiness, the vital principle of nations, is almost unknown in Hayti; it is there deprived of all support; it there has no encouragement;" and they call on the people to remember that, "it is this absence of education, above all other causes, that has served to depress Hayti, and to keep her stationary. Are not our young people the hope of their country? Is not this the class that must transmit to posterity the precious deposit, that our predecessors have confided to us? Brute force never leads to anything good; we must listen to reason's voice: we must light the torch of civilization by educating the people." +

The late contention, though of short duration, has brought much misery on the country, and has plunged the new Government into deep financial difficulties. The fields and provision grounds in the south of the island have been ransacked by the army for subsistence, and owing to the absence of the owners, who had left their homes to join the insurrectionary party, their renewed cultivation had been neglected; there is therefore at this moment a great dearth of exportable produce. The trade of the towns has been paralyzed. Added to these disastrous consequences, arising out of the recent movements, are the melancholy results of the great earthquake, and of a fire that occurred soon after in Port-au-Prince, which, together, have destroyed property to an awful extent. The Haytiens, however, are not discouraged; they are resolved to exert themselves, and to cultivate the arts of peace: they believe themselves to be on the way to surmount all their difficulties; they write and speak like men who have learned a great deal; they have full reliance on their qualifications for self-government. We trust that the experiment about to be made of forming a new constitution, and of framing laws suited to the present and future exigencies of society, may be entered upon with prudence, and carried through with wisdom. Hayti will then become what her situation in the Western Archipelago, and her natural capabilities fit and intend her for, a fruitful land with a prosperous people.

JAMAICA.

(From our own Correspondent.)

NOTWITHSTANDING a multitude of insolvencies, I have a strong apprehension and belief of a fresh crisis before the present Assembly of Jamaica is sent to its account. This cannot affect the industrial population of Jamaica. The whole is a controversy between the productives and the consumers. It will deplorably affect the rights of capitalists, and of the absentee industry of England. As you have influence, I commend to your advice to dissuade your mercantile and trading connexions in England from entrusting their property to any individual in Jamaica, saving to persons well approved of credit by anterior repute; at least, until laws for the security of property are permanently restored.

A SLAVEHOLDER'S REVENGE.—The following extraordinary advertisement appeared in two or three of our city (Boston) papers, a few days since. The barbarian who advertises, is, we are told, a son-in-law of Deacon Johnson, of the First Baptist Church in this city. The little girl is about nine years old, and is represented as being a very intelligent, sprightly child.

KIDNAPPING.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD will be paid for the return of a MULATTO GIRL, named Lavinea, about nine years of age, enticed away yesterday morning from the house of Mr. Hawkins, corner of 8th and Western-row.

To the Abolitionists of Cincinnati:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I arrived here on Sunday, on my way to Wheeling, accompanied by my wife, daughter, and the above girl. She has been enticed away from me, by a NEGRO HARLOT, ONE OF YOUR COADJUTORS, residing on Eighth-street. I never expect to see the child again, but I wish to show you what good you sometimes do for the poor negro.

The girl's mother has been for a number of years my housekeeper, and I own the whole family, and never intended to part with them unless to make them free for their faithful services. The mother is very much attached to the girl, and it was with great difficulty that I got her to consent to let her come with me.

The girl, I know, will not live without her mother, and I have no doubt you will attempt to steal her and her other children also; that, I am determined you shall not accomplish.

I cannot go home and meet the mother without her child; I therefore have instructed my attorney to send the family away from my house, and let no person know where they are; and if the girl is not found, to sell the family at a sacrifice, to any person who will take them to the interior. I have likewise advised that the husband, who is a highly valuable servant, belonging to a merchant, be immediately removed, until his wife and children are sold and sent away from him. So you see, ladies and gentlemen, what your philanthropy sometimes leads to.

Yours, &c.,

D. P. SCANLAN, (of New Orleans.)

ANOTHER DEMAND UNDER THE TREATY.—A man was arrested in New York on Saturday, charged with theft in Canada, and brought before the U. S. Commissioner, on a demand by the British Consul. It was decided by the Commissioner, that ordinary theft is not included in the crimes enumerated for which a surrender is to be made. These are murder, or assault to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper. The commissioner decided that he had no jurisdiction in the case, and the thief, if such he is, will probably go unpunished.—*Liberty Press*.

INTENDED FOR PUBLICATION.

HAYDON'S celebrated PICTURE of the GREAT MEETING of DELEGATES, held in London in June, 1840, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World, THOMAS CLARKSON, President.

To be printed in Oil Colours, by GEORGE BAXTER, Patentee, 3, Charterhouse-square, as soon as a sufficient number of Subscribers' names can be obtained. No money to be paid until completed and delivered.

Price to Subscribers, Proofs, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Prints, 2*l.* 2*s.* Size, 21½ inches by 17.

This Picture is about to be published under the approval of the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, who, with some of the leading Abolitionists, have already put down their names as Subscribers. It will be executed in the very best style, and contain upwards of One Hundred and Thirty Portraits of distinguished friends of the Negro, including some of the leading Ministers of different denominations, who attended the Convention as Delegates. An early application is requested, as the work will be commenced as soon as One Hundred and Fifty names are obtained.

Subscribers' names received at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street; and by the following friends of the anti-slavery cause: at

Bath—W. T. Blair, Esq.
Belfast—Lieut. Calder, R.N.
Bristol—Joseph Eaton, Esq.
Birmingham—W. Morgan, Esq.
Brighton—Isaac Bass, Esq.
Cambridge—Ed. Forster, Esq.
Carlisle—Hudson Scott, Esq.
Chelmsford—Joseph Marriage, jun., Esq.
Cheltenham—J. Lewis, Esq.
Cirencester—T. Brewin, Esq.
Cork—Wm. Martin, Esq.
Darlington—J. B. Pease, Esq.
Derby—John Steer, Esq.
Dublin—Richard Allen, Esq.
Edinburgh—J. Dunlop, Esq.
Exeter—T. T. Sparkes, Esq.
Glasgow—Wm. Smeal, Esq.
Gloucester—S. Bowley, Esq.
Hitchin—J. Sharples, Esq.
Ipswich—Sheppard Ray, Esq.

Ipswich—Geo. Ransom, Esq.
Kendal—I. Braithwaite, Esq.
Liverpool—John Cropper, jun., Esq.
Leeds—Robert Jowitt, Esq.
Leicester—John Ellis, Esq.
Liskeard—John Allen, Esq.
Maldon—Henry W. Eve, Esq.
Manchester—P. Clare, Esq.
Newcastle-on-Tyne—James Finlay, Esq.
Norwich—Rev. Wm. Brock
Nottingham—Saml. Fox, Esq.
Oxford—Rev. Dr. Godwin
Reading—J. Fardon, Esq.
Redruth—T. Garland, Esq.
Sheffield—Ed. Smith, Esq.
Southampton—Ed. Palk, Esq.
Staines—Fred. Ashby, Esq.
Worcester—Sam. Darke, Esq.
York—J. Rowntree, Esq.

Also by the Patentee of Oil-Colour Printing, George Baxter, 3, Charterhouse-square, London; Charles Gilpin, Bookseller, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without; and J. L. Porter, Bookseller, 43, Sloane-street, Chelsea.

REFUGEE SLAVES IN CANADA.

BRITISH AMERICAN INSTITUTE, founded in the Township of DAWN, CANADA WEST, for the EDUCATION of REFUGEE SLAVES from the UNITED STATES.

An earnest appeal is now made to British Christians and philanthropists on behalf of the Refugee Slaves in Canada, whose destitute condition calls loudly for pecuniary aid to provide for them the means of a Christian education.

The sum of One Thousand Pounds is now urgently required to enable the Trustees of the above Institute to erect buildings and employ teachers. The Rev. Hiram Wilson is now in England soliciting the aid of a benevolent public for this purpose. Several distinguished philanthropists have generously contributed to this object; and Mr. Wilson has much pleasure in subjoining the following from among many other testimonials, highly approving and commending its claims to public support.

FROM LORD MORPETH.

"June 9, 1843.

"I have felt my interest in the cause to which you have devoted yourself so much increased by my having subsequently been within the sphere of its agency, that I have thought it right to double my previous donation.

"MORPETH."

FROM THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.

"Playford-hall, Aug. 16, 1843.

"I feel it to be my duty to inform those benevolent friends of the injured African race into whose hands this paper may be put, that the bearer, the Rev. Hiram Wilson, of West Canada, has been led, by the providence of God, to become for many years the protector of such fugitive slaves as, having fled from their masters in the United States, have sought refuge in the Canadian territory. In this unprecedented labour of love, he has done, I believe, all that man could do. He has aided the poor sufferers in their attempts to escape, and he has had to encounter many and great difficulties and dangers on that account. He has frequently secreted them from their pursuers, frequently lodged and fed them at his own house, and found employment for them. All he wishes for now is to be able to complete his great object by establishing an institution to be called the 'British American Institute.' Two hundred acres of land have been already bought for this purpose, under the management of trustees. It is proposed that some of the fugitives, particularly those who discover talent, should be received here, and maintain themselves by manual labour upon the land; but at the same time they are to be educated and instructed in the principles of the Gospel, but they are not to pay anything themselves for this instruction.

"Now, Mr. Wilson and his friends feel themselves unable to complete their plans without aid. Some buildings are to be erected, and schoolmasters to be employed and paid. For these purposes they solicit the assistance of such of the friends of the injured African race as may think this object worthy of their support.

"THOMAS CLARKSON."

James Cannings Fuller, Esq., of the Society of Friends, is authorized to solicit funds on its behalf.

Donations may be sent to the "Patriot" office, Bolt-court, Fleet-street; to the Anti-Slavery office, 27, New Broad-street; and to John Cropper, jun., Esq., Dingle Bank, Liverpool. Communications may be made to Mr. Wilson, at either of the above places.

An account of all sums received will be published in the *Patriot*, and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, 1843.

Preparing for Publication, under the sanction of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and will be issued as speedily as possible,

A FULL REPORT of the PROCEEDINGS of the RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION; including the Speeches delivered, the Documents presented, and the Resolutions proposed, with the Decisions thereon. In one handsome octavo volume, price 7*s.* 6*d.* By J. F. JOHNSON, Short-hand Writer.

As the number of copies will be limited, Subscribers are respectfully requested to furnish their names without delay to Mr. Johnson, 2, Charles-square, City-road; to Mr. Snow, the Publisher, 35, Paternoster-row; or to the office of the Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE article on Slavery in Surinam is already in type, and will appear in our next.

We are glad to know that Knox College in Illinois, whose excellent President, Mr. Kellogg, is now in this country, is quite open to young men of colour.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all Newsvenders throughout the country. Price 4*d.*, or 8*s.* 8*d.* per annum.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg very earnestly and respectfully to call the attention of their friends to the subject of Funds, and to urge upon them the necessity of liberal contributions in aid of the great objects the Society has in view. Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.,) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 20, 1843.

In our last number, we referred to a recent letter of John Quincy Adams, in which that statesman has denounced American slavery in an eloquent and powerful strain. That admirable document will be found in our present number, and though the space it occupies is somewhat larger than we usually devote to a single article, we are free to confess, that in the present case we had no heart to attempt the ungracious work of curtailing. No, it would be unjust to the venerable statesman, the high-souled philanthropist, who ranks so high among the friends of freedom and of man, to withhold any part of a testimony which, taken as a whole, is so able, so earnest, and we will add, so eloquent. We say, advisedly, taken as a whole, for profound as is our respect for the opinions of a man who has earned a more than American reputation by his long and ardent consecration to the cause of human freedom, there are one or two points incidentally introduced, to which, as the advocates of the use of means, "moral, religious, and pacific" in their character, we should feel bound to demur. We need scarcely say, that we refer more particularly to the reference approvingly made to the *means* by which in the affair of the revolution, "the Lord of hosts had decided the wager of the battle."

Nor can we refrain from expressing our conviction that the venerable ex-president has, with the purest intentions, attributed to us, as a nation, motives which we did not feel in our recent invasion of the Chinese empire. However much good may be ultimately educed from an invasion which, though short-lived, has cost England millions of her money, and China torrents of her blood—and that good may be thus educed by the merciful providence of God, we are bound to believe—we cannot but regret, that so high an authority should represent us as "bursting open the everlasting gates and overleaping the walls of China, to introduce into that benighted empire, in one concentrated sunbeam, the light of civil and Christian liberty." It may appear not very gracious to refer to these exceptions, but our respect for the honoured writer, and, we may add, for our own deeply cherished convictions, renders it proper to express our candid opinion. As an argument against slavery—a denunciation of its evils and its wrongs—a call to solemn consideration, and to energetic and systematic action, the address is everything we could desire. Its circulation in America, where the honoured name of John Quincy Adams stands deservedly high in time's proud heraldry, must do good. Indeed, symptoms are pressing on every hand which lead us to conclude, that the cause of human rights is advancing with rapid strides in the transatlantic states; and that at no distant day, America, redeemed from the guilt and purified from the pollutions connected with her slavery, shall hold an honourable place in the family of righteous nations.

Correspondence.

The following extracts from letters recently received from our excellent friends, Messrs. ALEXANDER and WIFFEN, will show that they are zealously and energetically pursuing their benevolent mission. We attach great importance to efforts of this kind. Communion of minds with minds, in familiar and friendly intercourse, will lead to more earnest and energetic action for the emancipation of the enslaved; while the information which our friends will be able to diffuse among the friends of the slave, in all the countries through

which they pass, will lead them to "thank God and take courage." We need not formally assure our excellent colleagues, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will pay earnest and early attention to the practical suggestions they make in the communications to which the reader is now referred:—

8th mo. 29th, 1843.

On board steamboat from Copenhagen to Ustadst.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—We have just left Copenhagen, in which city we have been very busily occupied during our stay in making calls, looking over some works which contain information on the subject of slavery in the colonies of Denmark, and writing remarks on the duty and policy of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in those colonies. It will be satisfactory to our friends in England to learn that the address to the people of Holland and Denmark on the subject of slavery, prepared by desire of the Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, was, shortly after its appearance in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, translated into the Danish language by Professor David, and published in a periodical of which he is the editor. It will also be gratifying to them to know that the subject of abolition has been frequently brought under the attention of the public in Denmark by a newspaper published in Copenhagen called *Fædelandet*, (the Father-land,) which has a considerable circulation. The circumstances of slavery in the Danish islands, and the question of emancipation, has also been brought under notice recently by Commodore Dahlerup, an officer who visited them in 1841, in execution of a commission with which he was entrusted by the Government of Denmark. We understand the object of his mission to have been to inquire into a complaint made by the British Government, respecting the conduct of some seamen belonging to a Danish man-of-war, who chased and fired upon five slaves who were seeking to escape from St. Thomas, and killed one when already within the British territory. Commodore Dahlerup appears, from the observations which accompany his account, to be much prejudiced against abolition. He at the same time is not able to give a favourable report of slavery; which has brought to the Danish islands, and especially the most fertile amongst them, Santa Cruz, poverty, depopulation, and a fearful demoralization.

7th day, morning.—The closeness of the cabin, and subsequently seasickness and its effects, prevented me, since writing the above, from finishing the letter. We are now on our way from Ustadst to Stockholm, and I proceed to give a brief account of the information we obtained and the steps we took whilst at Copenhagen. Besides the publications already referred to, which relate to the subject of slavery in the Danish colonies, I have read some laws made in 1840, intended to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and a letter from the King to Governor Scholtens having the same object in view, with the remarks of the Governor on the regulations recommended by his sovereign. The two last-mentioned documents are contained in the *Fædelandet*. I shall first notice the light thrown upon the important subject of the progress or decrease of the slave population, especially of late. This is far from satisfactory. It is well known that there had been, since the abolition of the slave-trade, a rapid decrease, amounting in 27 years (from 1807 to 1835) to 7,000 in a population of 26,000 in St. Croix. I was not, however, prepared to find that there has been a decrease of the population constantly going on until 1840 inclusive, with the exception of the years 1832, '33, and '36, in which the increase appears to have been 30, 65, and 25. During the four years ending with 1840, the decrease is stated at 62, 74, 93, and 63, respectively, in each year. Although this decrease is not very large, the mortality is considerable, compared with the number of births; and the fact is seen in a still more serious and painful aspect, if we compare it with that large natural increase which would have taken place independently of the cruel consequences of slavery. Commodore Dahlerup gives a very gloomy sketch of the appearance of St. Croix, as compared with its state fourteen years previously, when he visited it. There is little or no evidence of progress during that period. Many of the houses present a wretched appearance in the towns Christiansted and Frederiksted; and not a few of the negro huts resemble bee-hives, which are half fallen, and are the most miserable habitations that can be conceived for human beings. Commodore Dahlerup thinks the domestic slaves are slaves in the true sense of the word more than those upon plantations, because the former are more exposed to the bad temper of the master. At the same time, he represents the physical condition of the domestic slaves as being very superior to that of the field slave. The Commodore is doubtless much mistaken in supposing that the slaves on plantations suffer less from a demoralized manager or brutal driver, than the domestic slave from his owner; but he affords an indirect testimony that the physical condition of the field slave is by no means favourable. Commodore Dahlerup regrets the injury which is inevitably sustained by the families of the whites from their contact with domestic slavery, and represents the demoralization prevalent among the slave population as very general, although not without some exception, as regards their being united by the marriage tie. We have heard, during our stay at Copenhagen, that the demoralization among the slaves, and the neglect of their children by the mothers, are the causes of the decreasing number of this portion of the population. Were this the case, these causes may be regarded as occasioned by slavery in regions where missionaries have now laboured for nearly a century; but the instance of Hayti, where the population has doubled during the last forty years, notwithstanding a very large extent of demoralization, in the absence of adequate general and religious instruction, proves that the causes of this decrease is to be sought elsewhere. It arises, doubtless, from the hardships and sufferings of slavery. The thought is a painful one, that the physical situation of a large part of the subjects of the Danish Crown in the West Indies is shown, by the test of the progress and decrease of population, to be in a state greatly inferior to that of any island governed by the descendants of those who were lately slaves. The proprietors in the Danish islands are in a state of great distress. Sixteen of the estates have passed into the hands of the Crown, in consequence of the inability of the owners to repay advances made to them; and a large number besides are heavily mortgaged. We were informed that one plantation owner with whom we are acquainted had paid, during the last two years, on its account, including supplies for the slaves, a sum exceeding the whole value of the produce.

Such are the results of slavery in an island exceeded by few in its fertility, notwithstanding this has been in some degree impaired by the employment of slave labour, a circumstance that is well known generally to result from this unnatural system, where human beings perform labour which in other countries is done extensively by cattle. The recent laws leave an amount of power in the hands of the slave-owner or his representative, which is liable to much abuse; but I will not now stay to particularize them, especially as I hope to be able, ere long, to have copied a document, in which some of them are particularly noticed. The letter of the King, expressing a wish that a much larger portion of time than he now possesses should be given to the slave by his owner, and the remarks of the Governor on that letter, in which a similar course is recommended, with some alteration in its mode of distribution, appear to have been generally neglected by the planters. It is understood that the same subject is at present under the consideration of the Government, with a view of providing a remedy for the existing evil, in the long period of time which can be claimed by the master.

It only remains for me to add that during the period we were at Copenhagen we called upon a considerable number of persons of various classes, amongst whom were ministers of the Crown, ministers of religion, professors in the University, West India merchants, editors of papers and others. We found generally a feeling friendly to a certain extent to our object, but a want of what we conceive to be just views as to the imperative duty of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, and that this just measure ought not to be made dependent on the power of the Government to afford compensation. We endeavoured to show that there would not, in the generality of cases, be any loss entailed on plantation owners by the emancipation of the slaves, and especially cited the results of the abolition of slavery in Antigua, which is situated very near to the Danish islands, to prove the correctness of our opinion. Antigua had long had the advantage of religious instruction, and was well peopled in proportion to its extent, notwithstanding the ravages made by death during slavery. There are striking points of resemblance between Antigua and St. Croix; but the latter is more fertile than the English island, and has, of course, in this respect, an advantage over it. We know well that Antigua has not suffered in any respect by the change that has taken place, but has been greatly benefited by it. Before we left, I wrote "Remarks on the Duty and Policy of the immediate and entire Abolition of Slavery in the Danish Colonies," which I have forwarded to a friend to obtain a translation and to have printed. This publication contains the reasons which occurred to us in support of the course we recommend, some of which have been noticed in this letter. I hope we shall shortly be able to forward a copy; but this will require more time than I can at present conveniently afford. It is due to Peter Brown, the Secretary of the British Legation, and to Professors David Forschhammer and Oersted and C. F. Monrad, to state that we were much assisted by them in our object. With kind regards, &c. I remain, thy sincere friend,

(Signed) G. W. ALEXANDER.

P. S. There is one subject of so much importance in connexion with the abolition of slavery in the Danish West Indies that I make it the subject of separate remarks.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MEANS BY WHICH SLAVERY MAY PROBABLY BE AT ONCE ABOLISHED IN THE DANISH WEST INDIA COLONIES.

We learn from the latest information that the West India islands belonging to Denmark are at present in a state of great depression. This is partly occasioned by the ruinously low prices arising from excessive production. The circumstance, however, makes it an object of great importance to the colonists of these islands to have a better market open to them than they now possess. We have assurances of *some authority*, that both the Government of Denmark and the planters would be glad to abandon slavery at once if the sugars of the Danish islands were upon that condition admitted for consumption in Great Britain, on the same terms as those from our own colonies. It would be of no small importance to secure, by the means to which I have alluded, the abolition of slavery in the Danish islands, particularly it would increase the difficulty of maintaining slavery in other West India colonies of Europe. I would suggest—and my companion concurs with me in the suggestion—that under the circumstances herein noticed, with which I believe the British Government is not unacquainted, such a measure should be adopted by the Committee as may promote the accomplishment of the object herein referred to. It will, I think, be seen that the course suggested is in accordance with the prayer of the petition agreed to before we left London; but as in this case, there are particular grounds for supposing that it would be successful in procuring the object which we seek, the abolition of slavery, it might be especially brought under notice in the proper channel.

G. W. A.

Upsala, 8 mo. 29, 1843.—Our business was not wholly laid aside whilst on our voyage from Copenhagen to Ystad and Stockholm, during which we had the company of Lay, the American Chargé d'affaires at Stockholm. We found this gentleman very frank and friendly, although differing with us as to the propriety of adopting every practicable means consistent with pacific principles to promote the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in his country.

Our companion stated that the constitution of the United States had been and was calculated to prove hereafter eminently conducive to the general weal of its inhabitants. Entertaining this opinion, he could not be a party to any act which might weaken it. We replied that we regard it as peculiarly obligatory on a government to watch over and protect the interests of the poorest and most defenceless of its subjects; and that in consigning to a cruel tyranny 2,500,000 persons of this class we considered the Government of the United States to have greatly failed in its duty and to have forfeited a claim to the respect of the world. Our American fellow traveller allowed us to see some recent papers from New York and Washington, in the former of which it was gratifying to find information relative to the anti-slavery cause; whilst in the latter were contained advertisements of slaves to be sold, men, women, boys, and girls; and cattle also in the same advertisement. I remarked, that I thought it impossible that such an outrage on the sentiments generally entertained by civilized countries could remain long in Ame-

rise. It would be easy, and perhaps not wholly uninteresting, to state some of the information we received relative to the horrors of the internal slave-trade; but the nature of this traffic is now understood in England, although few, perhaps, imagine the half of its cruelty and wickedness. I will only mention one fact, illustrative of the unnatural conduct which is sanctioned by the laws of several of the states. Lay had, whilst at Washington, during the session of Congress, a young man who was a free negro to wait upon him in his apartments. This young man incurred the displeasure of his own mother, by forming a marriage connexion contrary to her wishes. She threatened to sell her son, who came to our companion, in great distress, and besought him to interfere on his behalf. This he intended to do; but almost immediately, before an opportunity of doing so had been embraced, the young man was sold; and it is not known where he was taken, or where he now is. Such proceedings are legal in a portion of the American Union. Lay is a supporter of, and a liberal contributor to, the American Colonization Society. In my last I mentioned that we were spending part of a day at Upsala. Whilst there, we were disappointed in meeting Professor Gejer, who, we understand, is now at Stockholm, where we hope to see him this afternoon. B. B. Wiffen succeeded, whilst at Upsala, in finding out some persons who spoke English or French: we conversed with several of these on the subject of our mission to Sweden. We endeavoured to see the Archbishop of Sweden, Uringaid, who lives three miles from the town, but were disappointed in consequence of his being indisposed. I, however, addressed a letter to him, in which I endeavoured to express the solemn obligation which rests upon persons living in countries in which slavery is sanctioned, to use their influence for the removal of this crime. We forwarded to him a copy of J. J. Gurney's Letters, and of the Address to non-slaveholders of the southern states of America. We reached Upsala between two and three o'clock yesterday afternoon from Stockholm, and are now on our return to that city.

On board the *Gauthiod* from Stockholm, 8 mo. 31, 1843.—I deferred sending the foregoing until our work in Stockholm was completed. During our short stay there, we had an opportunity of seeing some of the most active and influential friends of the slave in Sweden, and a few other persons. We were sorry to find that Edward B. H. Lewin, whose acquaintance I made on a former journey, was about going from home; but we had an opportunity of spending part of an evening with him before he left. We were gratified to find him, as we had heretofore, the ardent promoter of emancipation. Yesterday morning, through the introduction of Sir Thomas Cartwright, British Minister at Stockholm, we had interviews with two of the ministers of the Crown. We placed before them arguments which will, I hope, prove the duty of the abolition of slavery, and show how intimately this act of justice is connected with the welfare and prosperity of every country in which the system of human bondage is sanctioned. In the evening we had a small meeting of persons friendly to emancipation at our hotel. Among those present were Professors Gejer and Thomander; the former distinguished as a poet and historian, and the latter esteemed to be one of the most eloquent men in Sweden. Both were also members of the late Diet, in which, it will be recollected, Professor Gejer moved an address to the King relative to slavery in St. Bartholomew. H. J. Hjeuta, the editor of the *Aftonblad* newspaper, which has a very large circulation, was also present. I hope that the conversation which took place will not be without some advantage in leading to fresh exertions to promote emancipation in St. Bartholomew. A paper entitled, "Observations on the Duty of the immediate and entire Abolition of Slavery in that Island," was drawn up before we left this morning, and submitted to H. J. Hjeuta, who will translate and insert it in the *Aftonblad*, and afterwards publish it in a separate form at his own cost. This is of course his own act, and it is gratifying to us, as a fresh proof of his interest in the cause of abolition. I have heard, since coming on board, that there was a notice of our visit to Stockholm in his paper last evening. We have made but a short stay at Stockholm, and have not had it in our power to make a large number of calls. The publication of our "Observations" in the *Aftonblad* will at once place them in the hands of nearly 6,000 subscribers to that paper, besides a large number of readers; and will, I trust, convince some that the difficulties of emancipation, principally arising from a supposed necessity of compensation, are far from considerable, and are such as may be easily surmounted, if proper efforts are employed and persevered in. We have disposed of a large number of anti-slavery publications during our journey, in which we continue to feel much encouraged.

"We are now returned to Hamburg, which city we leave on the morning of the 7th to Magdeburg, by steam-vessel up the Elbe; thence to Hernhult, Frankfort, and several of the principal towns of Holland."

On the way to Magdeburg, 8 of 9 mo., 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—We had intended to have revisited Copenhagen on our way from Stockholm to Germany, but subsequently determined to proceed direct to Travimunde. We thought that by adopting this plan we should be more likely to obtain an early audience with the king of Denmark, whom we had reason to believe was not very distant from Hamburg; we, however, found on reaching that town that the king is so constantly occupied in travelling or business, that we deemed it best not to seek an audience, but to prepare some written observations on the duty of abolishing slavery in the Danish West Indies for his perusal. We have likewise thought it desirable to draw up some remarks for the consideration of the King of Sweden, who we had not an opportunity of seeing during our short stay at Stockholm. We have forwarded the former of these documents to Count Henry Reventlow and the latter to Baron Mornerstrom, by whom we were informed that they would present the statements we proposed to make to their respective monarchs. To both these ministers, we feel particularly obliged for the patience and kindness with which they listened to our representations. The preparations of these documents, although shorter than those for general circulation noticed in former communications, and writing several letters, occupied much of our time during two days on our second visit to Hamburg, which town we left yesterday morning. I send thee herewith a list of persons at that place, and in Denmark and Sweden, to whom we think it desirable that the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* should be henceforth forwarded, also the names of persons in the countries we have visited, whom we recommend as correspondents of the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

In closing this short notice of the conclusion of our work, in connexion with the attempt to promote the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the Danish Colonies and St. Bartholomew's, we have gratefully to acknowledge the assistance and courtesy we have every where experienced from friends previously known and from strangers. Thus encouraged, we are now on our way to Hernhult by Magdeburg and Dresden, and intend to inform thee of the result of our visit to that place, in which we hope to exercise some influence, in connexion with that of the Anti-Slavery Society and the last Convention, in persuading the Moravian brethren to wash their hands from the disgrace of being any longer implicated in slave-holding, whatever difficulties may attend the emancipation of their bondsmen. With kind regards to thyself and all our friends,

John Scoble.

I remain, thy sincere friend,

G. W. ALEXANDER.

Extract of a letter from Lewis Tappan to Joseph Sturge, dated New York, August 27, 1843:—

"Our friend Pennington arrived here safely, having been treated during the passage in all respects as a cabin passenger should. The *Great Western* arrived on Monday, and Mr. Pennington was invited to preach in the saloon of the ship the afternoon previous. J. Leavitt arrived a day or two before at Boston.

"The meeting held here, of which I informed you in my last, was well attended. The hall was filled, and many were there who never attended any anti-slavery meeting before. I addressed them for about two hours, and they appeared to be gratified. Two-thirds of the time I was on the anti-slavery meetings, &c., in London, and devoted the rest of the time to matters connected with the peace and temperance meetings in London, &c. * * *

"The *Commercial Advertiser*, that published my own corrected report, has been considered a pro-slavery paper—has often abused anti-slavery men, and ridiculed the cause. The dose of anti-slavery that I gave its readers therefore made some of them sick. The editor thinks to get off by calling the General Convention in London 'a humbug.' He knows better. I have been invited to several places to speak on the subjects of anti-slavery and temperance, and have declined some, and complied with others. There is a strong disposition to hear about what was done in London.

"I do sincerely believe that the cause is rapidly advancing to a consummation in this country. We can keep Texas out of the Union, if she can be made a free, independent state! Let Great Britain do her duty, and we will do ours.

"I attended a meeting the other day of the New Jersey State Anti-Slavery Society at Belleville, and addressed them for an hour and three quarters. Brother Weld was there in full blast. One of the churches (the Methodist) there is now opened to him. Weld delivered several temperate addresses, and it won upon them. They will now listen to anti-slavery appeals. He and his family are well. He had his house full of visitors.

"The *Journal of Commerce* has published a very fair synopsis of the report to the French Chambers on the working of emancipation in the British West Indies. The *Commercial Advertiser* of to-day has a leader in reply to the attack upon me the other day—quite complimentary.

"The coloured people have hired the large room in the Broadway Tabernacle for a great meeting on Thursday evening. Mr. Pennington is to address it. This is the first time the coloured people ever had our Exeter Hall. *The ball rolls.*"

Extract of a letter to Joseph Sturge, dated Cork, 9 mo. 11, 1843:—

"Last evening a Cornish teetotal captain was here of the name of —. He is now in here from Barcelona, which place he left about a month since. He said there were then in that port, fitted out as slavers, eight or ten vessels; that one of them came in from Brazil, her second trip this year, with a cargo of sugar, having taken over slaves from the coast of Africa. She was a fast sailer, and fitted with sweeps, or long oars, on each side, with which she might be worked about five miles per hour, so that it was almost impossible she could be caught; then, if she were in danger of being caught with negroes on board, they were all taken on deck, and fastened in their irons to a large chain cable which they let slip through a large port-hole made for the purpose, with its string of living victims. And even this sacrifice of human life they looked on as not even a pecuniary loss to themselves, as it tended to keep up the value of slaves in Brazil.

"This information was received from some of the parties engaged in the trade, who used to urge the negroes to work hard at the oars in case of danger, having on board a black mate and cook, who understood the African language, who represented to the slaves that, if taken, they would all be killed. There seems in all this a cool refinement in barbarity that could not have been supposed, even in slavers. Some information that was obtained may account for the supineness of our Government in the enforcement of treaties with Spain. Gibraltar appears to be a great storehouse for English goods to smuggle into the Spanish ports; a trade which is carried on in English vessels so well armed with heavy guns, that two of them would beat off a Spanish man-of-war. This species of trade is notorious, and openly carried on in the face of our authorities."

TO JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ.

Montego Bay, August 1, 1843.

OUR DEAR FRIEND,—The following is a copy of a resolution passed to-day at the Baptist chapel in this town:—

"Resolved,—That this meeting, feeling deeply sensible of the injustice committed by the few, who are perpetually exhibiting opposition to liberty, in charging upon the people all the evils which can be discovered in the present imperfect working of freedom, desire strenuously to declare, that, whilst sensible of short-comings in those who have been delivered from unjust bondage, the grand source of the mischiefs reported is to be found in the deficiency of capital so manifest in this colony; and in the mismanagement of the estates and plantations; and that these our sentiments may be known in England, we request that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to our friend, Joseph Sturge, Esq., and to the Secre-

tary of the Anti-Slavery Society, with our grateful acknowledgments for all their efforts employed on the slaves' behalf throughout the world."

With our best wishes for the success of your noble efforts, and requesting that you will forward a copy to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society,

We remain, your sincere admirer,

(Signed) P. H. CORNFORD,
Pastor of the Baptist church, Montego Bay,
J. L. LEWIN,
Chairman of the Meeting.

The following communication has been before us for some time; but a press of other matter prevented its earlier insertion. This explanation, we feel due to the excellent writer, in compliance with whose request we now present it to our readers.

To the Editor of the *Liverpool Mercury*.

34, Eccles-street, Dublin, July 12, 1843.

SIR,—I thank you for your kind and prompt attention to my inquiry, and if you will allow me a little space for a reply to your second article on the condition of the West Indian planters and labourers, I shall feel obliged. The subject is one of deep importance, both in a mercantile and moral point of view. It seems to me that there is a constant tendency on the part of capitalists to press unjustly on the rights of labourers, which acts injuriously on the interests of all parties. When, in my former letter, I alluded to J. J. Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies," as being strong evidence in opposition to the view taken by you, I was not aware that his statements were so conclusive as I have since found them to be. I find it would be unreasonable to trouble you with the quotations from it, which I have marked, and which, if not decisive of the question, are at least a strong proof that any want of prosperity which may prevail among the planters in the West Indies, cannot be fairly attributed either to the paucity of labourers, to their indolence, or to the exorbitant wages paid them. The true cause of any such want of prosperity must be sought elsewhere. I think your own statement of the wages given proves that they are not very extravagant, and you must be wrong with regard to the rent and other matters added to money payments. Mr. Gurney many times mentions that the unhappy differences which prevailed between the masters and the men, arose from the injudicious attempts of the former to force labour by a high charge for rent, and other vexatious proceedings. On the point of wages, I refer you to some further evidence taken from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. I also annex the different pages in Mr. Gurney's "Winter in the West Indies," to which I wish such of your readers as take an interest in this important question to refer. I perceive you do not think Mr. G. very high authority; there are some things in his work which I am sorry to find there, but surely he is a man of the highest respectability, on whose statements of facts implicit reliance may be placed. I do not refer to his opinions, in these we are all liable to err; but when he gives us the evidence of magistrates and planters themselves, testifying to the actual condition of things, and that these show, not only an increasing prosperity among planters who act fairly and honestly by their labourers, but that the cost of working their estates is much less under a system of freedom and paid labour, than it was under slavery and coerced labour, I think it will require something more to convince us than Sir Robert Peel's unsupported statement in the House of Commons, that estates in the West Indies are lessened in value, and that this is owing to the high prices paid for labour; and when we have, added to these facts of Mr. Gurney's, the universal testimony which is borne by all, to the good conduct of the negro population, surely all good men ought to pause before they give their sanction to any measures which may have the least tendency to lessen the comforts or diminish the happiness of these peaceful people, whom we had for so long a time subjected to all the horrors of slavery. We owe them a heavy debt; let us strive to pay it by continued kindness. The planters have had a large share of the good things, and there is not in my mind any evidence to prove that they cannot still have their full enjoyment of prosperity if they go but the fair way about securing it. Curtailling the comforts of their labourers, cannot be the right means.

I have no objection to the free and spontaneous emigration of men from Africa, provided their labour be needed; but I do hope the people of these countries will not give their sanction to any plan instituted for the purpose of bringing into the West Indies additional labourers, to compete with the present happy population there. If these be in a position to enjoy many of the comforts of life that labourers in other countries are unaccustomed to, do we not reap some benefit from their expenditure, in the shape of increased exports to our West Indian colonies? To illustrate this view of the case: the average wages of labour in Ireland does not exceed 6d. per day (Ingless says it is only 4½d.); supposing all our people to be employed six days in the week, what is the result of this unchristian pressure of capital against labour? Why, our people have little or nothing to spend in clothing and furniture. If these wages could be doubled by any legitimate means, it is easy to see that trade of all kinds would receive a great impulse, such as would be advantageous to all parties. In this way, it is the direct interest of England, to say nothing of benevolent feeling at all, to continue the population of our West Indian colonies in a condition of comfort, and not to depress them as low as possible in the scale. If there be any want of prosperity in the West Indies which is not felt also at home, and in other quarters of the world, I am satisfied the cure of it must be sought for in some other way than in reducing the wages of the labouring population by a forced emigration of other hands from Africa. I do not now enter into the question of freedom of trade and intercourse between nations. I am an advocate of both; but I do hope no attempt will be made by England and Ireland, in carrying out these measures, to do so at the expense of humanity. If any protection be ever useful, it surely must be a protection of the rights of the poor, who have only the proceeds of their daily labour to live by.

Will you kindly excuse these hasty remarks? The persevering ingenuity of men who have a pecuniary interest in reducing wages below a fair and reasonable amount, needs to be met by a careful examination of all their statements; and it seems to me that evidence in opposition to that coming from those who have no such interest, should not be subjected to the same rigid investigation; I therefore think J. J. Gurney's

testimony is of more value than any which has been given by parties whose interest lies in the opposite scale. I respectfully request your readers to look at the pages I have indicated, where, I think, my position is supported, that the negroes cannot be fairly charged with producing any part of the distress which may exist among the planters in our West Indian colonies.

If it be agreeable, I may, perhaps, state what seem to me some of the real causes for it on some future occasion.

I am respectfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

PAGES IN "GURNEY'S WINTER IN THE WEST INDIES," REFERRED TO.

Page 32. W. R. Isaac's testimony in favour of negroes' good conduct in Tortola.

Page 35. Isaac Thomas's testimony in favour of 250 negroes, and saving of money on account of moderate wages in Tortola.

Page 38. Vexatious taxes in Tortola.

Page 43. Solicitor-General of St. Christopher's testimony as to generally improved value of property.

Page 45. Wages in St. Christopher's, 7d. to 9d. sterling per day; by task work, 2s. to 3s. earned. "They will do an infinity of work for wages."

Page 47. "Labourers are eager to work for fair wages."

Page 51. Testimony of stipendiary magistrate of Antigua in favour of improved value of land.

Page 52. Estates broken up under slavery, now under cultivation for sugar.

Pages 56 and 57. Important testimony of Nathaniel Gilbert as to improved value of his property, and greater cheapness of labour.

Page 58. Doctor Nugent's to same effect regarding labour.

Page 60. Testimony of lady of rank in Antigua, whose property was heavily mortgaged, and is now free. Many similar instances in that island.

Page 65. Resident planter's testimony: "He now works with one-third less hands, and at vastly diminished expense."

Page 68. A wealthy old gentleman always complaining of ruin, yet purchasing all the ground he can.

Page 81. D. S. Laidlaw, of Dominica, under slavery employed 2,100 hands, now employs only 600, and was taking measures to enlarge his cultivation.

Page 100. Joseph Gordon, of Jamaica: he and his men prosperous. They pay him rent—half a dollar per week.

Page 101. All manner of cruelty practised by some planters in Jamaica, about rents and ejectments.

Page 105. J. C. Weiss's property; formerly employed 170 slaves, now 54 free men do same work in four days a week. Saving, 242l. 10s. per annum.

Page 112. Vexations of rent again, in Jamaica.

Page 117. Two estates, one well, the other ill managed; both fine properties; consequences as might be expected.

Page 130. Greatly improved value of land.

Page 143. Property sold a few years since for 1500l., now worth 10,000l., and the population rapidly increasing under freedom.

Page 146. Mr. Ricket's valuable testimony.

Page 153. The expense of working A. B.'s estate in 1837, 2,400l.; in 1839, only 1,200l.

Page 154. Building walls done for one-third the cost since freedom was declared.

Page 163. "Seven Plantations" estate now produces 11 hhds. of sugar weekly; under slavery only 6 hhds.; noble conduct of the negroes here.

But I must cease my extracts. Mr. Gurney's little book is full of testimony similar to the foregoing. The following I have taken from *The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* of May 3rd, 1843:—

"2. As it respects the alleged excessive remuneration paid the labourers, asserted to be 'high beyond the parallel of any country at any time past or present.' A brief statement of the current rate of wages paid in the British colonies will suffice to confute this absurd misrepresentation. In Jamaica, the wages paid to the field labourer vary from 1s. to 1s. 6d. sterling per day of nine hours; those employed in the manufacture of sugar, 2s. per day of twelve hours; head men, 2s. per day; and artisans—carpenters, masons, &c., 2s. 6d. per day. Rent is usually charged for use of hut and ground, from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per week, according to circumstances. In Barbadoes, the wages paid are 10d. per day, hut, and sometimes a small patch of ground included. In Antigua, from 9d. to 1s. 1d. per day is given, huts included. In St. Kitts, from 1s. 0½d. to 1s. 4d. per day; rent charged 2s. 1d. per week. British Guiana, 1s. 4½d. per day of seven and a half hours, or per task, and 2s. 1d. to labourers about the buildings, who work from ten to fourteen hours, with the addition of a meal prepared for them. No charge for cottages, unless the labourer fail to perform six tasks weekly, when 8½d. is attempted to be deducted for each deficient task, under the name of house-rent. In Trinidad, 2s. 1d. per day is given; no rent charged. If labourers prefer working by the job or task, they are paid in proportion to the work done; and this is found to be most satisfactory, both to the planter and to the labourer. In some of the smaller colonies, the amount of wages paid the labourers does not exceed 6d. per day, with huts rent free. Now the average amount of wages paid the negro labourer does not exceed that received by the British peasant, and will not bear a comparison with that paid to agricultural labourers in the United States. In Trinidad, even, it is a well known fact, that the inducements the planters offer the free people of colour of that country, are not sufficient to induce them to resort thither, though a free passage is provided for those who will accept it."

THE DEBATE ON THE SUGAR DUTIES.

(From the *Liverpool Mercury*, Friday, June 30, 1843.)

The Sugar Duties Bill having been read a third time, and passed, on Monday night, all hopes of obtaining cheap sugar, for one year at least, have vanished. Nor does it appear that we are to have any prospect, at any future period, of such an advantage, if we are to rely upon what fell from Sir Robert Peel in the course of the debate on Mr. Labouchere's proposal to lower the duty on foreign sugar.

We advert to this confession of the premier's, for the purpose of pointing out its entire conformity with all that we have predicted for some time past concerning the true causes of the failure of the Brazilian treaty.

We hinted, at the time of Mr. Ellis's negotiation, that certain stipulations in regard to the abolition of slavery in the Brazils, which, we had reason to believe, formed a *sine qua non* of that Envoy's instructions, were sufficient of themselves to enable any one to foretell with considerable confidence its entire and hopeless failure, and now we have a confirmation of our prophecy from Sir Robert Peel's own mouth. The gradual abolition of slavery, nay, even its slightest amelioration, could not be hoped for, upon any such basis as a commercial treaty, conceding pecuniary advantages, without arousing a suspicion in the minds of the slave-owners and planters of that country that they possessed a superiority, of which we sought to deprive them by a sacrifice never heretofore permitted on our part. That England, the head of the anti-slavery powers of Europe, should have been driven to the seeming necessity of acknowledging the error, in a pecuniary point of view, of emancipation, was a lesson to the slave-owning countries which only led them to cling with a more desperate tenacity to an institution which stood between them and ruin. The question farther presented itself to Brazilian minds under the form of commercial competition with free labour, backed, as that of our colonies would be, by the capital, the extended immigration, and energy of Britons, and by the annually increasing produce of India, whilst the Brazilian had staring him in the face the prospect of a cultivation increased in cost, and a diminution of market consequent upon the competition of Porto Rico and Cuba.

Without adverting to the philanthropy of the negotiation, we may therefore say that it was not a very business-like or practical step, if the end in view really was to get cheap sugar and coffee for the white serfs of this country, and not to court a little clap-trap humanity at the expense of the Whigs, who thought of getting cheap sugar for their countrymen first, and better treatment for the Brazilian blacks afterwards. It is nothing to Sir Robert Peel that his experiment has egregiously failed, because he has his income tax to make up any deficiency in the sugar duties, and until November, 1844, when the present treaty expires, he can stave off any agitation from the commercial classes, whose interests will only then begin to be affected by a stringent Brazilian tariff. But, in the mean time, a short and dear crop from our own colonies will pinch still more the poor consumers, and keep up, at a cost ruinous to the producers, the extravagant rate of wages demanded by the negroes.

If free negro labour is only to be supported by a monopoly of the home market, it is as well that we should know exactly what is likely to be the cost of this experiment before it is completed, in order that we may see whether our shoulders will or will not be able to bear it. Self-preservation is the first law of existence to nations as well as to individuals. It is computed that this country has already paid *twenty-five millions*, in addition to the first twenty millions, in the enhanced cost of sugar. We cannot afford to go on at this rate, and at the same time suffer the loss of such an important branch of our commerce as the Brazilian.

Never was there a better moment for lowering the sugar duties than the present. The American tariff has totally excluded the sugar of Cuba and Porto Rico from the United States. The planters of those islands have no outlet for their produce, and know not what to do with it. They will sell it for almost nothing. The latest advices represent the mercantile interests in Cuba and Porto Rico as embarrassed in the highest degree—breaking in all directions—while the sugar crop of Louisiana has reached, by rapid strides, the enormous amount of 130,000 hogsheads. The cultivation of indigenous sugar in America, notwithstanding the accidents to which it is liable from the sudden frosts, threatens to supersede the necessity of purchasing any colonial produce from other countries under the fostering protection of the American tariff. Never was there a better opportunity of getting our sugar and coffee cheap and abundant; but Sir Robert Peel, hampered by his pledges, says, "No!"

He says it would be to stultify himself to propose any enlarged trade with slaveholding states, after the sacrifices England has made for emancipation. It would be so if those sacrifices had done *any good* in quashing the slave trade. It is notorious that they have not, and equally notorious that the pretended horror of the old slave trade and slavery party, at the notion of doing any thing which may tend to encourage foreign slavery, is all sheer hypocrisy and nothing else. It was assumed for party purposes, and now fetters the Government, preventing them from doing what they know to be necessary for the well-being of the country.

CONDITION OF THE WEST INDIAN PLANTERS AND LABOURERS.

(From the *Liverpool Mercury*, July 7th, 1843.)

A respected correspondent has found some difficulty in believing an assertion of ours,—that the West Indian planters are suffering under distress, and that the rate of wages paid to the negroes is ruinously high. He, therefore, requests us to state, upon some authority to which our readers can refer, what this extravagant rate of wages is in our different West India colonies, since the ruin of the planters, of which we spoke, is very different from their condition as described by Mr. Joseph John Gurney, in his "Winter in the West Indies."

We are surprised that any well-informed man should demur to that assertion. Sir Robert Peel himself mentioned, in the course of the recent debate on the sugar duties, instances of West Indian estates which, a few years ago, produced net incomes of 10,000*l.* a year, gradually declining to 6,000*l.* and 3,000*l.*, and finally ending with (if we mistake not) the bare payment of their own expenses. And this fact occurred, not in distant years, ere slavery was abolished, but within the last two or three years, during which the price of sugar has been extremely high. The Prime Minister ascribed this fall of rental chiefly to the high prices of labour in the West Indies. The West Indian newspapers are filled with complaints of the embarrassments of planters and resident merchants. The planters of Trinidad, Jamaica, and Demerara, are making every exertion to obtain a supply of black labourers by immigration, in order to prevent estates from going out of cultivation. The House of Assembly of Jamaica have appointed an immigration committee, and voted funds, for the purpose of sending ships to Sierra Leone, where they have, at this moment, a resident agent, looking after such kroomen and free blacks as are willing to go to the West Indies. At home, the non-resident planters and mortgagees of Demerara and Trinidad are unceasing in their applications to Government to allow facilities for the transport of

negroes or coolies, or any thing with a black skin and two hands, to their plantations, where the natural order of things is at present reversed, and the labourers hold the capitalist in dependence, instead of the capitalist holding the labourer.

No better index can be afforded of the commercial situation of a community than the state of its banks. Now, one and all of the reports of the West Indian banks state, in direct and explicit terms, the commercial embarrassment and distress prevailing with them. Some have made heavy losses; others have their capital locked up, and cannot call it in without risk; and not one appears able to pay a dividend adequate to the employment of money in such remote and ineligible colonies. This fact speaks volumes. If it accorded with the reserve which a public journal must in some cases maintain, we could point out whole quarters in which the commercial community appears to us to be absolutely rotten.

With regard to Mr. Gurney's amusing book on the West Indies, it is now two or three years old, and was never (we say it with deference) of any authority as to the planter's prosperity. It contains much to show that the negroes were comparatively enriched,—nay, even artificially so; but the evidence given before the Parliamentary committee of 1840 proved that such a state of things was only supported at the cost of the consumer and the planter, and that the rate of wages then current could not long be continued. The people of this country were surprised at accounts of the bottled porter, Madeira, Champagne, chickens, hams, and tongues, fine clothes and donkeys, which the negroes enjoyed; and many a white artisan envied the comparative leisure of the black, and the facility with which he procured all the necessaries of life.

We shall now advert to the point of wages. It is stated in the Report of July, 1840, on East India produce, pages 177 and 178, that in Jamaica the money wages run from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* sterling per day, exclusive of the house, grounds, medical attendance, and other little matters that are given them, and which are of much greater importance than is generally known in this country. For instance, you give the houses and grounds, and medical attendance to every negro upon the property, young and old; whereas, the proportion that may be at labour is probably not one-fourth, consequently, when you have the labour of one-fourth, at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, you are actually paying them 2*s.* 3*d.* a day, because the value of the house and grounds, and other matters, taking them even at a very low rate indeed, is equal to 9*d.* a day for the effective labourer that works, so that that makes the cost of the actual labour, in place of 1*s.* 6*d.*, with these additional perquisites, equal to 2*s.* 3*d.* per day.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have great pleasure in acknowledging the following Contributions, as the result of a special effort to defray the expenses of the late Convention:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
London—Alexander, G. W., Lombard-street	50	0	0	Guisborough—Coning, Ann	1	0	0
B. B. W., per Henry Sterry	1	0	0	Hertford—Pollard, William	5	0	0
Beaumont, Abr., 300, Holborn	10	0	0	Hitchin—Exton, William	5	0	0
Bell, John, Oxford-street	10	0	0	Sharples, Joseph	20	0	0
Buxton, Sir T. F., Bart., Spitalfields	20	0	0	Ipawich—Ransome, James	1	0	0
Buxton, Edward N., ditto	5	0	0	Kendal—Crawdson, W. D.	10	0	0
Byron, Lady Noel, St. James's-square	10	0	0	Kingsbridge—Peck, Richard	5	0	0
Christy, Wm., Gracechurch-st.	10	0	0	Leeds—Anonymous	0	10	0
C. T., per Henry Sterry	1	0	0	Jowitt, Robert	5	0	0
Evans, William, M.P.	50	0	0	Leighton Buzzard—Bassett, J. D.	5	0	0
Freemasons' Hall, Ladies' Collecting Box	3	15	6	Leominster—Southall, Samuel	5	0	0
G., (6 visits to the A. S. Conv.)	2	2	0	Lewes—Godlee, Burwood	2	2	0
Gurney, Samuel, Lombard-st.	50	0	0	Liskeard—Allen, John	1	1	0
Gurney, Samuel, jun., ditto	5	0	0	Allen, Frances	0	5	0
Gurney, W. B., Abingdon-st.	5	0	0	Elliott, Mary	0	5	0
Hanbury, Cornelius, Plough-court	5	0	0	Jackson, Clement	0	5	0
Harvey, Wm., Gracechurch-st.	5	0	0	Ladies' Association	1	0	0
Lushington, Rt. Hon. Steph., D.C.L., Great George-street	10	10	0	Rundell, Samuel	1	1	0
Neatby, Joseph, Kennington	5	0	0	Veale, John E.	0	5	0
Norton, T., jun., Bermondsey	5	0	0	Veale, Richard	0	5	0
Post, Jacob, Islington	3	0	0	Veale, Brothers	0	5	0
Rutty, John, Paddington	5	0	0	Wadge, John	0	10	0
Stacey, George, 300, Holborn	5	0	0	Liverpool—Anti-Slavery Society	20	0	0
Sterry, Joseph, Borough	5	0	0	Cook, Isaac	5	0	0
Sterry, Henry, ditto	5	0	0	Cropper, John, jun.	20	0	0
Sterry, Joseph, jun., ditto	2	0	0	Cropper, Edward	20	0	0
Sturge, Samuel, Newington Butts	5	0	0	Hadwin, Isaac	10	0	0
Sutherland, the Duchess of	5	0	0	Manchester—Crawdson, Wilson	10	0	0
Alton—Crowley, Henry	10	0	0	Crawdson, Joseph	10	0	0
Crowley, Abraham	5	0	0	Crawdson, Isaac	10	0	0
Banbury—Ladies' Association	5	0	0	Newcastle-on-Tyne—Beaumont, William	10	0	0
Birmingham—Lloyd, Samuel	5	0	0	Emancipation Society	10	0	0
Sturge, Joseph	20	0	0	Nottingham—Fox, Samuel	10	0	0
Wilmore, Ann	1	0	0	Norwich—Forster, William	5	0	0
Bristol—Charlton, James	20	0	0	Opie, Amelia	2	0	0
Eaton, Joseph	25	0	0	Olney—Smith, Ann Hopkins	20	0	0
Gulleband, Rev. P. (Clifton)	2	2	0	Peckham—Cash, Samuel	5	0	0
Thomas, Edward	50	0	0	Perran—Fox, Charles	5	0	0
Thomas, George	50	0	0	Pontefract—Jowitt, Benjamin, (Carlton)	5	0	0
Burncoose—Williams, John	10	0	0	Ross—Morgan, Nathaniel	2	2	0
Camborne—Budge, John	2	2	0	Roxton—Metcalfe, C. J.	2	0	0
Cambridge—A. B.	5	0	0	Sheffield—Smith, Edward	25	0	0
Foster, Edward	5	0	0	Smith, Sarah (Carr Wood)	5	0	0
Chelmsford—Christy, Thomas, (Broomfield)	10	0	0	Southgate—Overend, Mary, (Chit's Hill)	10	0	0
Chelsea—Alsop, Robert, jun.	0	10	0	Southampton—Clark, Joseph	3	0	0
Chesham—Johnson, William	5	0	0	Lalshley, George	2	2	0
Coalbrook Dale—Dickinson, B.	5	0	0	Spalding—Massey, William	5	0	0
Cockermouth—Spencer, Jerem.	2	0	0	Staines—Ashby, T. C. & F.	5	0	0
Colchester—Catchpool, Thomas	3	0	0	Pope, Margaret	5	0	0
Croydon—Barrett, Richard	5	0	0	Stamford Hill—Kitching, John	5	0	0
Crowley, Charles	5	0	0	Sunderland—Backhouse, Edw.	5	0	0
Frith, Philip	10	0	0	Backhouse, Edward, jun.	5	0	0
Sterry, Richard	10	0	0	Swansea—Price, Joseph T., (Neath Abbey)	5	0	0
Darlington—Backhouse, John	5	0	0	Tottenham—Ball, William	10	0	0
Backhouse, John C.	3	0	0	Forster, Josiah	5	0	0
Barclay, Eliza	2	0	0	Forster, Robert	5	0	0
Doncaster—Dent, William	5	0	0	Fowler, Thomas	5	0	0
Downham—Doyle, James	2	0	0	Fowler, Rachael	2	0	0
Driffild—Anderson, David	3	0	0	Fox, Francis	5	0	0
Edinburgh—Dunlop, John	5	0	0	Waterford—Peat, William	3	0	0
				Wisbeach—Peckover, William	10	0	0
				Peckover, Algernon	5	0	0
				York—Fletcher, Martha	3	0	0
				Tuke, Samuel	5	0	0

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER and CHARLES REED, of No. 5, Bolt Court, in the Parish of St. Dunstan, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine-street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERETT, 6, Finch-lane, Cornhill. September 20th, 1843.